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ABSTRACT

The movement of American Samoans to Hawaii and the U.S. mainland is characterized both by one-way permanent migration and by temporary, circular mobility through Samoa, New Zealand, and the United States. American Samoans have developed adaptive strategies for the urban environment, transforming four traditional social structures for use in the new environment: Samoan culture, extended family, chief and title system, and visiting patterns. Despite these adaptive changes and increased roles for churches and community organizations, barriers to positive adaptation continue. Significant barriers are: educational and English language proficiency, limited appropriate pre-migration employment, and discrimination. The adaptation process can be enhanced through job training programs. They will contribute to communications skills, job skills, and job performance. Broader long-range issues of housing, health, employment, and education can best be met by statewide organizations unifying the Samoan communities and providing programmatic solutions to adaptation problems. (Author/CG)

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MODERN SAMOAN MOBILITY AND URBAN ADAPTATION

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The movement of American Samoans to Hawaii and the U.S. mainland is characterized both by one-way permanent migration and by temporary, circular mobility through Samoa, New Zealand and the U.S. American Samoans have developed adaptive strategies for the urban environment, transforming four traditional social structures, fa'a Samoa (Samoan culture), 'aiga (extended family), matai (chief and title system) and malaga (visiting patterns). Despite these adaptive changes and increased roles for churches and community organizations, barriers to positive adaptation continue. Significant barriers are: educational and English language proficiencies, limited appropriate pre-migration employment, and discrimination. The adaptation process can be enhanced through job training programs. They will contribute to communications skills, job skills and job performance. Broader long-range issues of housing, health, employment, and education can best be met by statewide organizations unifying the Samoan communities and providing programmatic solutions to adaptation problems.

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BACKGROUND

In 1899, the Treaty of Berlin formalized American jurisdiction over the islands of Tutuila and Manu'a in Eastern Samoa. American Samoa, an "unincorporated territory," comprises 197 square kms. of land and 390,000 square kms. of sea area (So. Pac. Commission. 1982: Table 2). The population of American Samoa grew steadily in the first forty years of this century, from 5679 in 1900 to 12908 in 1940, representing an annual population growth rate of 2.1%.

American public health systems were in place early in this century enabling American Samoa to avoid the ravages of the worldwide influenza epidemic of 1918. When the United States entered World War I all able-bodied Samoans of military age formally volunteered for military service, and when they were told they were not needed, many of them enlisted individually in the Navy or went to Hawaii or California and entered the service, some of them serving overseas. Those who remained at home sought to show their loyalty to the United States in some way, and worked in constructing an elaborate concrete dam and waterworks plant for the Naval Station at Pago Pago (U.S. Congressional Hearings. 1930: 128).

In the 1940s the annual population growth rate nearly doubled. American naval support activities created an almost unlimited demand for Samoan labor and approximately one thousand Western Samoans immigrated to American Samoa to take advantage of these wartime wage labor opportunities (Park. 1972.). Keesing (1956) has indicated that the presence of U.S. servicemen in American Samoa resulted in a higher birth rate for the decade. These two factors contributed to rapid population growth with the 1950 census figure of 18937 representing an annual growth rate of 3.8%.

During this period of accelerated military investment a large number of Samoans were trained and employed in the communication, shipping and transportation fields. However, in 1951, the transfer of territorial administration from the Navy Department to the Department of Interior was accompanied by a sharp reduction in federal funding and many of these skilled Samoan workers could no longer find appropriate employment. The Department of Interior discontinued provisions for educational and vocational training and the reserves of cash and goods accumulated during the war years depleted rapidly (Lewthwaite. 1973:134).

Captain J. A. C. Gray of the U.S. Navy commented on this important period in the history of American-Samoan relations (1960:263):

> The economic situation in American Samoa became so desperate in 1952 that about a thousand Samoans migrated en masse to Hawaii, transported by their old friend, the Navy.

According to Born (1968:455), nearly half of these Samoans "were 9 years old or younger, with a substantial majority of females." These individuals together with the Samoan community at Laie (established in 1919 and numbering approximately 500 by 1950) formed the base population for later Samoan immigration to Hawaii (Nordyke. 1977:48).

Between 1950 and 1980 the Samoan population in Hawaii has increased to over 14,000 (U.S. Census. DPED: 1982). This increase is largely a result of continuing immigration from American Samoa and Western Samoa, and a natural increase of approximately 5600 (Hawaii Health Department, 1964-1981). As Nordyke emphasizes (1977:49):

> Samoan births recorded by the State Department of Health have been comparatively high in number, which may be explained both by the large percentage of women of reproductive age and by the cultural tendency to large families.

Samoans now constitute a significant minority in the Hawaii population. The literature on their urban adaptation has emphasized the numerous problems confronted by Samoan immigrants and their descendants in Hawaii. For example, Douthit and Lung (1974:1) state:

> Most Samoans are newcomers and in the lower economic strata. Others are employed in menial jobs. Large numbers are on public assistance, and every indication points to increased numbers seeking public assistance in the future. Housing is a problem singled out by Samoan immigrants to be an immediate concern. A substantial number of Samoans live in substandard housing. Severly overcrowded conditions are given as the primary undesirable factor.

Similar assessments present statistical data demonstrating the problematic features of Samoan adapatation (Schmitt, 1972:39), or point to aspects of Samoan culture as the cause of adaptive problems (Ho, et al, 1974:4-5).

Samoan movements into California were initially motivated by a desire to enlist in the U.S. armed forces during the first World War. In the early 1950s two planeloads of Samoan farm laborers were brought to California where they apparently worked in the rural economy for only a short time, and after 1951, the California Samoan population increased as the migratory flow from Samoa through Hawaii to California accelerated (Lewthwaite. 1973:140).

Samoans continued joining the U.S. military even after the Department of the Navy departed American Samoa in 1951. Military experience provided young Samoans with the opportunity to travel throughout the Pacific area and the world, and not surprisingly, Samoan servicemen connected up with their extended family members in areas with military bases -- Hawaii and the west coast of the United States. American ships provided the means for young Samoan untitled men (taule'a'lea) to travel (malaga) and keep their family relations "warm". The military provided the young Samoan with his room and board, as well as a cash income that could be shared with

kinsmen in various locations. Over time major Samoan population concentrations developed around U.S. military installations in Hawaii, California, and Washington. Not only did military malaga encourage the development of these communities, military-related work opportunities stimulated later migration flows.

In 1980, the U.S. census enumerated over 20,000 Samoans in California. Far less research has been conducted on Samoans in California than in Hawaii, for California's Samoan population remains essentially invisible, mixing with other, more numerous, ethnic groups in a total state population of over twenty-two million.

THE CULTURAL RESPONSE TO CONTEMPORARY MOBILITY PATTERNS

Most social scientists are impressed with the strength and resiliency of Samoan culture, the fa'a Samoa. Mead characterized the Samoans as possessing, "... all the strength of the tough willows, which bend and swing to every passing breeze,but do not break" (1928:495). Another student of Samoan culture, the Reverend J.D. Copp suggested (1953:315):

> The consequence of European contact was a conflict of choice of great poignancy and irresolubility. In such circumstances fa'a Samoa remained not only deeply right but also became a place of refuge. Fa'a Samoa was home.

One of the most highly respected of the early Polynesian ethnographers, Sir Peter Buck, also known as Te Rangi Hiroa, stated (1930:5):

> The Samoans are more conservative than other branches of their race and their satisfaction with themselves and their own institutions makes them less inclined to accept the change that foreign governments consider to be of benefit to them. Their viewpoint is bounded by their own immediate horizon. The Samoans are self-contained.

Douglas Oliver, in his major survey work, The Pacific Islands (1951:158), emphasizes that the Samoans,

> ...provide a fascinating and almost unique example of Polynesians surviving the strong impact of westernization without changing their everyday lives and without losing their numbers, their strength, their dignity.

And Bradd Shore, in a more recent work (1977: preface), states that although the Samoan islands have been politically separated for eighty years,

> ...the entire Samoan archipelago reveals a remarkably unified identity and striking homogeneity...There is a shared commitment to a large number of kinship and political institutions.

It is important to view modern Samoan mobility as a combination of one-way, permanent migration, and circular, temporary movements encompassing a wide geographic expanse from New Zealand, through Samoa to the United States. There are three main aspects of the fa'a Samoa responding to this mobility, the extended family ('aiga), the system of chiefs (matai), and the practice of intervillage and interisland visiting (malaga).

The 'aiga is more than a single extended family, it is a localized segment of widely dispersed descent groups. Numerous extended families may overlap in one localized village segment, and an individual always belongs to several different 'aiga through relations with both his mother's and father's family. As Tiffany notes (1974:36),

> Indeed, it would be most difficult, if not impossible, for an individual to meet the political, economic, and psychological obligations involved in maintaining active membership in all 'aiga to which he could conceivably claim consanguinity...The presence of multiple 'aiga membership in the Samoan system of nonunilineal descent (relations through mother's and father's kin) means that some members of the 'aiga will be geographically dispersed, while other members who choose to reside on that 'aiga's land will constitute the localized core, or nucleus.

The 'au 'aiga is a wider extension of kinship ties, covering great genealogical and geographic distance, and there is considerable movement between localized segements. Manpower requirements, ceremonial observances, and malaga (group visiting), all work to reenforce an intricate network of family ties, keeping family relations "warm".

Children are highly valued by the 'aiga because they provide evidence of the fertility and virility of the 'aiga, they represent additional wealth for the matai, and they will support and care for their parents and grandparents in later years (Keene. 1979:23). Adoption is a common practice in Samoa,

children moving into the households of different 'aiga where they help with the supervision of younger children, and take care of the elderly. This movement outside the nuclear family household reenforces in the child the concept that an individual's family responsibilities extend beyond the nuclear family and immediate kin.

Some intervillage movement is directed at providing better supervision and care for younger children and the elderly, but a significant amount of this mobility involves the movement of taule'ale'a (untitled men) to meet the needs of the 'aiga and the matai. Each 'aiga has a matai with a titled status relative to other matai within the 'au 'aiga. The most consistent indicator of the strength or status of a matai title is the quality and quantity of the land he controls. Farrell (1965:325) states, "the land provides a special status to the matai who holds authority (pule) over it."

The matai controls the land, mobilizes and supervises the manpower producing from the land, and allocates the resources of the land to the 'aiga. At special life-cycle events like births, weddings, and funerals, the matai demonstrates his ability to mobilize the entire 'aiga into a production unit. The product of the men's labor, fish,taro, breadfruit, pigs, chickens, and beef, and the women's labor, fine mats, functional mats, tapa, and necklaces, are displayed at large gatherings where matai attempt to advance their status. These displays of wealth and power will be munificent if a higher title to which the matai aspires is available.

The importance of the relationship between the fa'a Samoa and the land has been recognized by Europeans since the late 19th century when land claim courts were established to return land to the Samoans, and to restrict any further expatriation of Samoan soil. However, after about a century of American

influence in Eastern Samoa, the Samoan population was deriving less and less from the land. Farrell discusses the relevant factors in this changing relationship to the land (1965:325-27).

> The land provides reasonable sustenance, it performs a useful function in traditional custom...Prestige for most Samoans however, may be obtained more readily away from the land by nonagricultural pursuits and service, and by paid employment either on Tutuila, in Hawaii, or on the mainland. As a result, the lure of paid employment reduces the number of young farm workers and the people as a whole become considerably less dependent on their environment than one would normally expect...farmers receive little or no encouragement from the administration to plant crops...Development of the rural economy in American Samoa is a thorny problem and the territory is likely to develop education, health, transport, and commerce while land remains in comparison virtually undeveloped.

While the influence of American administration and wage labor was changing the Samoan relationship to the land, the population continued to grow at a high annual rate. As a cultural response to population growth and wage labor opportunities, the taule'ale'a (untitled men) went to American cities instead of the plantations. By 1965, earlier Samoan migrants had established communities in Auckland, New Zealand, Hawaii, and the west coast of the United States. In these migration flows, the 'aiga becomes geographically extended, and the money and other goods sent by kinsmen overseas become increasingly important resources to the localized 'aiga in the islands. As Douglas states (1979:12),

> As time goes by migration becomes more widespread, more institutionalized. Young adults expect to get the opportunity to migrate and those left behind in the village expect to receive the monetary benefits that should accrue.

With the geographic spread of Samoan 'aiga from New Zealand through Samoa to the United States, malaga movements became more costly and complex but these movements remain essential to the fa'a Samoa in that they activate intimate social and political communication between 'aiga members. However widely dispersed,Samoans have remained committed to malaga movements despite nearly a century of European efforts to discourage them.

Western Samoans have always maintained close ties with their American Samoan 'aiga members. Artificial political boundaries,established in 1899 by the Treaty of Berlin, had little effect on the traditional practice of frequent visiting to keep familial realtions "warm". In 1903, and many times thereafter, the United States attempted to enforce "Malaga Regulations," in an effort to limit the size of parties traveling between the islands (Park. 1979:13). The following testimony from the "Congressional Hearings Concerning Conditions in American Samoa" (1930:169), indicate the Samoan response to malaga regulations.

> In 1929, the Governor issued orders to stop the custom of visiting relatives which are distant apart from the Naval Station...Some of the people sent in a request to malaga to the Secretary of Native Affairs, but not the Governor... because they think the idea of the Governor was to force them to work. Samoans are greatly enraged by enforcement of malaga regulations.

Today, the Samoan practice of malaga is essential to the maintenance of warm 'aiga relations. Familial activities like births, weddings, chiefly installations, and funerals, as well as Flag Day celebrations in American Samoa, and Independence Day celebrations in Western Samoa, trigger malaga movements throughout the New Zealand-Samoa-United States network of Samoan communities. These malaga movements may involve short-term stays in numerous different communities, but they may also act as catalysts to more permanent

relocation.

In general, modern Samoan mobility can be viewed as an expansion of traditional kinship, chieftainship, and visiting patterns. The contemporary 'aiga remains genealogically expansive while becoming extended geographically. The modern matai gleans resources from taule'ale'a working in cities and plantations, and the malaga groups travel between nations as well as between islands and villages. This general interpretation clearly emphasizes a continuity in Samoan culture during the last thirty years of emigration. However, there have been significant changes in the fa'a Samoa, and in particular, the matai system, as Samoans have adapted to life in American cities. Samoan urban adaptation is the topic upon which this paper will now focus.

SAMOAN ADAPTATION TO AMERICAN URBAN ENVIRONMENTS

While there is a great deal of movement between American Samoa and urban environments in Hawaii and the U.S. mainland, Samoans have established permanent communities in Honolulu, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Seattle, and elsewhere. The main aspects of Samoan urban life to be discussed are the 'aiga, the matai system, the role of the churches and community organizations.

The Samoan extended family has been able to accomodate large numbers of individuals-- newborn children and newly arrived migrants-- because of the essential concept within Samona culture of mutual aid in times of need. Bloombaum (1973:83) comments, "Mutual financial aid functions as such an integral part of the Samoan culture that it does not vary in relation to family income." Macpherson (1975) has discussed the elaborate kin-based savings societies of Samoans in New Zealand and has shown how effectively these "kalapu"can direct financial support to kinsmen in times of need.

Yost (1965) states that not once while she was working in the Samoan community did members of the household head's own family begrudge the presence of cousins, aunts, or uncles in the household, usually a house that would be considered very overcrowded by American middle class standards. Many of the young adult relatives had been living in the household since childhood and had become like adopted children. Giving away a child, in this case from Samoa to Hawaii, is very common and so satisfying to both parties that formal adoption is considered unnecessary. Relatives were depended upon to give aid when trouble arose. When there are broken homes, outlets of the Samoan extended family aid in the resettlement of these Samoans, and visiting relatives were taken into the household to stay as long as they liked, even encouraged to stay permanently. Ala'ilima (1966) states that most Samoans find it hard to drop these obligations (fa'alavelave) to their extended family.

Parents allow their children to live with other families if discipline or economic problems make control of the children difficult. In the Bloombaum study (1973), forty-five per cent of the families had participated in this practice, either as givers or receivers of children. Bloombaum states (p.83):

> Kinship patterns of the sample studied are not very different from those in Samoa. Households are large, there is much visiting (malaga) among the extended family, and there is mutual aid among kinsmen...Children are highly valued in Samoan culture and apparently continue to be among Samoans in Hawaii. Only five parents said that they had more children than they ideally wanted to have...The parents do not seem to recognize the desirability of adopting the current Western standard of a small family.

Less research has been conducted on the Samoan community in California, and this may be an indicator of their lower visibility and impact in that state. Ablon (1972-1974) has noted the strength of the Samoan extended family system as the primary adaptive mechanism for Samoans living in California. She states (1972:4) that Margaret Mead's 1930 definiton of the traditional 'aiga, "seems as appropriate to the Samoan family in 1970 as to that in 1925." Ablon

discusses how the extended family was able to meet the needs of its members during an intense period of crisis. The Samoans, seeing the success of their family system in response to the crisis of the All Hallows church fire, gained confidence and security in knowing that their 'aiga members from Samoa, Hawaii, and elsewhere, would assist them. Ablon and others (Macpherson and Pitt:1974; Graves and Graves, 1978;1980) have noted that the newly-arrived Samoan migrant goes first to his family head who tells him where his home, job, school, church, and doctor are, and the migrant can depend on his kinsmen for the duration of his stay.

Chen (1973) also discusses the Samoan 'aiga in California. She points to an adaptation of the extended family in California which is similar to the adaptation in Hawaii. Three, or sometimes four, families may be found under the same roof (1973:43):

> As long as one person is working and has a roof over his head his home is open to his family...Most Samoans have large families ...even so relatives and friends live in the same house.

Chen points out that the average income for a Samoan household of seven to fifteen people in Los Angeles County is between $300-$500 a month, adding that the poverty line for a non-farm family in 1969 was $312 a month (1973:44). Chen also discusses the adherence of Samoans to their tradition of filial piety. Samoans maintain that it is an honor to care for one's parents -- to have them choose your home to reside in. Few elderly Samoans receive old-age assistance, and only in cases of extreme family poverty are they put in convalescent homes. Some older Samoans may return to American Samoa to live out their later years, and this would complete a lifetime cycle of mobility. The ancient Samoan proverb, "O le galo e gase i Pa'au," (The galo dies in Pa'au), refers to the Samoan practice of returning home "to await the end," no matter how many times he has changed his abode (Schultz. 1980:21).

The one aspect of Samoan culture that has undergone the greatest amount of change is the social and political control exercised by the chiefs (matai). In Western Samoa only the titled matai are allowed to vote in national elections,and within the last decade or so title splitting has led to a proliferation of less powerful titles shared by many individuals. Also,as population qrowth has accelerated since the 1940s,the number of competitors for titles has increased thus providing a further justification for title splitting.

In terms of migration and adaptation, it has been argued that matai would be less likely to leave Samoa as they are in a favored social, economic, and political position there (Franco. 1978). However, there do appear to be a large number of matai in both the Hawaii and California populations. These matai often are active in community organizations, as they feel that their titled status makes them natural community leaders in the American urban context.

Some Samoans express the opinion that matai should exercise political power only in Samoa where their titles are based. Some Samoans, both older and younger, may have left Samoa expressly for the purpose of "getting out from under" matai control, and they do not want to be directed by matai while residing in Hawaii or the U.S. mainland. The legitimacy of individual matai titles has also been questioned as it appears that certain "urban", non-Samoa based,titles have been created and this effects the overall strength and validity of the matai system. Thus, in American urban environments, the position and power of individual matai varies greatly, and the political effectiveness of a matai is enhanced if he also understands the urban issues confronting the Samoan community. For example,those matai who function as community leaders within the National Office of Samoan Affairs in California achieve status because they effectively utilize Samoan

In each of the Samoan urban communities there are a large number of active church congregations, and from the church pulpit the Samoan minister often disseminates important information concerning community programs and events of interest to various 'aiga within the congregation. As nearly all Samoans attend a church service each week, the minister could become even more important within the community if local, state, and federal officials used the churches to disseminate information concerning available programs. For example, the new federal job training legislation could be explained to potential trainees through the church network.

Although the churches have taken on some secular responsibilities, most Samoan ministers feel that caring for the spiritual well-being of their congregations is their primary responsibility, a responsibility that is extremely time-consuming and difficult. Samoan community leaders, ministers included, agree that if any real community development is to occur, programs must be channelled through statewide political organizations that can define and advocate for appropriate action programs.

The greatest strides toward a viable statewide Samoan organization have been made by the National Office of Samoan Affairs in California (N.O.S.A.). Emerging in the late 1970s through the volunteer efforts of matai, ministers, and young motivated Samoans, this organization was successful in getting Community Action Grants which supported their small staff. Since then, N.O.S.A. has been growing and increasingly active in developing and implementing a wide range of community development and cultural programs. Operating as an umbrella organization to over one hundred smaller organizations, N.O.S.A. has been influential in improving the education, health, housing, and employment situation for Samoans throughout California, and to some extent in the state of Washington.

political savvy to achieve community development aims.

The efforts of the 'aiga and the matai are often directed at a wide range of church activities. For Samoans, as for any cultural group, births, weddings and funerals re-order kinship relations. In Samoan culture these events necessitate a great deal of communication, resource acquisition, and malaga activities, and the matai is often called upon to coordinate these. The church minister (faifeau), working in conjunction with 'aiga members, plans and executes the proper religious ritual so that all these activities are conducted "with the grace of God."

The Samoans are a highly religious people, having accepted Christian proselytizing with a zeal matched by only a few indigenous groups in the Pacific or elsewhere. To many Samoans "church work" is at least as important as "paid employment," and because these individuals volunteer their time for church work, the church provides an important focus in the spiritual, social, and educational life of nearly all Samoans.

In addition to providing numerous religious services during the week, the Samoan church provides educational programs for young children, and in some cases, for adults. Social activities like to'onai (a large meal after Sunday service), bingo games, dances (usually blending traditional and modern music to which everyone dances), and car washes, bring Samoan family groups together in fund-raising efforts which support church expansion, and religious and educational programs.

The church provides an all-Samoan religious, social, and educational environment where individuals may worship, entertain, and learn within the context of the fa'a Samoa. The church is thus a powerful institution in the Samoan community, and a powerful element in the Samoan adaptive process, and the minister and the matai increasingly are partners in the pursuit of church, 'aiga, and community goals.

In Hawaii, attempts toward forming a statewide Samoan organization could be characterized as moving in "fits and starts." Numerous attempts at coalescing the large number of smaller Samoan organizations into a single political body have been unsuccessful,due primarily to the lack of money to support a full-time staff. Most Samoan community leaders in Hawaii have full-time jobs, are active in their churches, and very active in managing the affairs of their 'aiga. The missing element in the political organization of Hawaii's Samoan community is the lack of funds to support a full-time staff that could devote their energies to community development. The Samoan community in Hawaii has been speaking to local, state, and federal officials in many, often dissenting,voices and this has resulted in "fits and starts" in community development programming.

BARRIERS TO ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY

For American Samoans in American urban centers, there are three barriers to economic self-sufficiency, educational and language difficulties, the lack of diversity in pre-migration employment experience, and discrimination, particularly in Hawaii. Hayes and Levin, in their paper entitled, "A Statistical Profile of Samoans in the U.S.: Social and Economic Characteristics" (1984:21), have presented some of the census data on Samoan educational attainment. Rather than restate their arguments, this paper will discuss the cultural context of learning for the Samoan student.

In general, the Samoan student receives a great deal of verbal encouragement from parents and family. On the other hand, the young Samoan must spend much of his time caring for younger siblings and cousins, and elderly adults. Young Samoans must be active in church affairs, and must assist in preparations for visiting kinsmen. The Samoan household is often full of family and thus family responsibility, and this detracts from one's ability to find a quiet

place for study.

Many Samoan high school students are active in sports programs which provide them with the opportunity to stand out among their peers. Valuable lessons about team play, hard work and goal attainment are learned in these sports programs, however, learning in academic subjects like math, science, and english often suffers. A great deal of individual time and effort is channelled into sports competition and only a small percentage of Samoans have been able to translate athletic prowess into success in higher education.

Graves and Graves (1978) have emphasized the inappropriateness of the individual competitive model of classroom education for Samoan and other Polynesian students. The Graves' emphasize that group learning exercises are more effective in teaching Samoan students to express themselves, but even these exercises will not be sufficient if English language learning exercises are not intensified.

According to a Department of Health, Education, and Welfare report (1980:168), English language difficulties "were widespread and assigned a high priority by both Samoan households and service providers." Job training officials noted that Samoan language difficulties influenced their ability to learn useful trade skills, and even if they were able to learn the skills through manual practice, they had difficulty getting jobs because they could not communicate with employers or with the public. Other training officials indicated that Samoans do not experience upward job mobility in fields like auto mechanics or electronics because they are not able to pass the numerous licensing exams. Difficulties in passing written examinations to enter the Honolulu police force were also reported. Samoans are thus relegated to low-paying jobs as security guards (Franco. 1983).

English language difficulties have also been linked to Samoan aggressiveness. Due to an inability to communicate verbally, particularly in tense situations like encounters with police officers, Samoans may express themselves physically. In sometimes frustrating experiences with social service providers, Samoans with poor English skills may act loudly and aggressively, thus alienating those individuals who are trying to assist them. Over time these interactions have fostered a lack of sensitivity by some social workers, and the need for bilingual social workers has become increasingly apparent.

The next barrier to Samoan economic self-sufficiency is the lack of diversification in the American Samoan economy. The two primary employment sectors, the government and the tuna canneries, do not provide large numbers of individuals with the kind of employment experience they need to compete effectively in Hawaii and mainland labor markets. To illustrate this point it is useful to contrast the pre-migration employment experience of a Samoan with that of a Filipino migrant. A Samoan comes from an island environment where there has been little urbanization and related infrastructural development, and thus a restricted number of employment opportunities. On the other hand, a Filipino may have worked in a large metropolitan center like Manila, or numerous other large urban centers, and found jobs in employment sectors closely comparable to those in Honolulu, San Francisco, or Los Angeles. The lack of diversification in the American Samoan economy makes it imperative for Samoans to learn useful job skills only <u>after</u> they have entered Hawaii or mainland labor markets. Clearly, in the Samoan communities of Hawaii, California, and the U.S. mainland, the need for job training is great.

The third barrier faced by Samoans is discrimination. As mentioned above, Samoans in California are essentially an invisible ethnic group, and the amount

of reported discrimination is not as significant as in Hawaii's Samoan community. A survey conducted at Kalihi Valley Homes in 1983 indicates that Samoans feel discriminated against in employment, housing, health care, education, and legal matters (Franco. 1983).

In employment matters Samoan respondents reported:

"Once I said I was Samoan he said he would call me back-- but he never did."

"The reputation of other Samoans makes it difficult to get a job."

"The company hired a Japanese and pay him the same salary as me. I've been on the job for five years."

"They don't give us jobs if we tell them we're Samoans."

"There is less prejudice against Samoans in California."

The first statement about not being called back after a job interview was mentioned by five different respondents.

In housing matters similar responses were attained:

"The Housing Office does not help Samoans as they help other groups."

"My grandson was refused to live with me."

"Once you say you are Samoan they say it is taken."

In health care and education, Samoans reported:

"I was hospitalized twice. Doctors seem to treat their own race better than Samoans. They spent time talking with them."

"Teachers pay more attention to other children than the Samoan children."

"Samoans are not given full opportunities in education-- our children have been eliminated from the Family Service Center."

And finally, in legal matters Samoans expressed concerns that:

"Once a Samoan is taken to court no matter whether he did it or not,they are always guilty."

"Most of the crimes committed in Hawaii are blamed on the Samoans."

Discrimination can be a pernicious barrier to economic self-sufficiency, but it can be overcome by improvements in communication skills, job skills and job performance, and income levels. All of these improvements can be brought about by effective job training programs.

JOB TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR SAMOANS IN HAWAII, CALIFORNIA, AND WASHINGTON

In 1983, a study of the Samoan employment situation was funded by the Hawaii State Commission on Population and the Hawaiian future(Franco.1983). This study assessed the effectiveness of job training programs in Hawaii, and the results are reported herein. These job training programs are generalized, that is, they are not fitted to the culturally specific learning patterns, or socioeconomic contexts of the Samoan trainees.

Hawaii Job Training Programs

The Hawaii Job Corps Center at Koko Head provided training to at least 206 Samoans-- 173 males and 33 females --in the period 1973-1982, and all these individuals were between 16 and 21 years of age. The place of birth data for Samoan participants at Job Corps is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Place of birth of Samoans at Job Corps, 1973-1982, Job Corps 1983.

	AMERICAN SAMOA	WESTERN SAMOA	SAMOA*	HAWAII	CALIFORNIA	UNKNOWN	TOTAL
Sample size	132	17	18	26	6	7	206
Row percent	64.1	8.3	8.7	12.6	2.9	3.4	100

*No distinction was made in early Job Corps records between American Samoa and Western Samoa.

Source: Job Corps records, 1973-1982.

More than 80% of the Samoans at Job Corps were Samoa-born individuals, and only 12.6% were born in Hawaii. Although there was a slight bias toward "Samoa-born" in the methodology used to determine

place of birth, it is readily apparent that Job Corps is an important program integrating younger Samoans into the American labor market.

There are three termination statuses in the Job Corps records. A Category I termination indicates that the individual completed the training program. A Category II termination is assigned to an individual who stays in the program more than three months but does not complete the program training, and a Category III termination is assigned to an individual who stays in Job Corps less than three months. The termination statuses of 206 Samoans are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Termination status by sex, Samoans in Job Corps, 1973-82.

SEX	CATEGORY I	II	III	TOTAL
MALE				
Sample size	33	85	55	173
Row percent	19.1	49.1	31.8	100
FEMALE				
Sample size	15	15	3	33
Row percent	45.5	45.5	9.1	100

Source: Job Corps Records, 1973-1982.

The data in Table 2 indicate that Samoan females have a much higher program completion rate, and a much lower tendency to enter the program and exit in less than three months than Samoan males. There was no indication from Job Corps staff that the Samoan Category III termination rate was higher or lower than other ethnic groups,and one would have to conduct extremely time-consuming research to make cross-cultural comparisons of any of the variables from the Job Corps data.

It was possible to derive data on educational attainment for 199 of the Samoan Job Corps trainees (Table 3). For Samoan males,

Table 3 Educational attainment by sex, Samoans at Job Corps, 1973-82.

SEX	YEARS EDUCATION COMPLETED 9 or less	10-11	12	TOTAL
MALE				
Sample size	48	81	37	166
Row percent	28.9	48.8	22.3	100
FEMALE				
Sample size	8	12	13	33
Row percent	24.2	36.4	39.4	100

Source: Job Corps records, 1973-1982.

the median level of education completed is 9.6 years, as compared to 10.1 years for females. The median educational level of Samoan females, 10.1 years, closely approximates that of the entire Samoan female population in Hawaii. The median educational level of Samoan males in Job Corps, 9.6 years, is almost 1.6 years below the level of the Samoan male population in Hawaii. This low educational level suggests that Samoan males may perceive of Job Corps training as a substitute for, rather than a supplement to, formal education (U.S. Bureau of the Census. 1983).

The Job Corps data base is unique in that it provides information on educational competency in mathematics and reading (see Job Corps "math milestones," Table 4). While in Job Corps Samoans add, on average, 3.1 math milestones, and depart the program with math skills at Milestone Level 7. Of the 122 Samoans for whom this information on math skills was available, 24 completed all twelve milestones.

Table 4. Job Corps math milestones, Job Corps, 1983.

MILESTONE

1. Addition Whole Numbers
2. Subtraction Whole Numbers
3. Multiplication Whole Numbers
4. Division Whole Numbers
5. Addition of Fractions
6. Subtraction of Fractions
7. Multiplication/Division of Fractions
8. Addition/Subtraction of Decimals
9. Multiplication/Division of Decimals
10. Percentage
11. Units of Measurements of time, length weights, and liquids
12. Linear Measurements

Source: Job Corps records, 1973-1982.

In terms of reading competency, Job Corps provides the grade-level equivalent to the milestone. Samoans, on average, add 4.1 milestones -- the equivalent of two grade levels -- in reading skills, and depart the Job Corps program at milestone 11.9. This is equivalent to a grade six reading competency level. Four Samoans completed their G.E.D. requirements while in Job Corps.

Using the Job Corps data it is possible to compare the post-training experience of Samoan high school completers with the post-training experience of high school non-completers (Table 5).

Table 5. Post training experience by completion or non-completion of high school, Job Corps, 1983.

EDUCATION	FOUND JOBS	JOINED MILITARY	POST H.S. EDUCATION	RETURNED TO H.S.	CETA	UNEM-PLOYED	TOTAL
H.S. Completers							
Sample size	22	9	3	--	--	16	50
Row percent	44.0	18.0	6.0			32.0	100
Non-H.S.Completers							
Sample size	55	16	--	15	6	57	149
Row percent	36.9	10.7		10.1	4.0	38.3	100

Source: Job Corps records, 1973-1982.

After Job Corps training, High School Completers were more likely to be employed and to be in the military, although the percentage differentials are not great. This may indicate that Job Corps training offsets some of the differential in educational attainment in terms of the individual's ability to find a job.

Thus, the Samoan male perception of Job Corps as a substitute for education may be an accurate one.

Of the 206 Samoans trained over the period 1973-82, 77 found jobs and their occupations are delineated in Table 6.

Table 6. Occupations of Samoans finding jobs after Job Corps Training, Job Corps, 1983.

OCCUPATION	NUMBER OF SAMOANS	PERCENT OF TOTAL
Professional/Managerial/Teachers	--	--
Sales Worker/Clerical	12	15.6
Service Occupations	23	29.9
Agriculture/Fishing	1	1.3
Craftsman/Artist	20	26.0
Operatives/Transport Operators/Laborers	21	27.3
Other	--	--
TOTAL:	77	100

Source: Job Corps records, 1973-1982.

It appears that Job Corps training has resulted in some improvement in Samoan math and reading skills, and in the Samoan employment picture. Also, it is indeed probable that with the inclusion of more Samoan females Job corps could contribute even more to improving the Samoan employment situation in Hawaii. However, there is a real concern among Samoan parents for the welfare of their daughters in the residential Job Corps program. Some informants indicate that the participation of Samoan females in the Job Corps program would increase if these women could reside at home rather than at the Koko Head Job Corps Center.

The national Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (C.E.T.A.) was administered on Oahu by the City and County of

Honolulu's Office of Human Resources. In the period, October 1, 1980 to December 30, 1982, 1016 Samoans participated in the wide range of C.E.T.A. programs (Table 7). Most Samoans in C.E.T.A. programs were in the 16-22 year old age group, although the Summer Youth Employment Program worked with a large number (316) of 14-15 year olds, and the Private Sector Initiative Program worked mostly with Samoan individuals 22 years old and over.

Table 7. Samoans in various C.E.T.A. programs, October 1, 1980 to December 30, 1982.

PROGRAM NAME	NUMBER OF SAMOAN PARTICIPANTS
Title IIB	210
Title IID	28
Youth Employment Training Program	37
Title VI City and State	18
Youth Community Conservation Improvement Prog.	10
Private SEctor Initiative Program	32
Targeted Jobs Tax Credit Program	119
Summer Youth Employment Program	562
TOTAL:	1016

Source: Office of Human Resources, City & County of Honolulu, 1980-81.

Well over half (55.3%) of the Samoans in C.E.T.A. programs participated in the Summer Youth Employment Program. This program is designed to provide increased youth awareness of career opportunities through work experience and career counseling. For nine weeks of the summer, individuals, 14-21 years of age, work in the public sector and in private non-profit organizations, and this summer work experience is supplemented by career counseling when the individuals return to school. The goal of this program is

to give the trainees some practical experience in the job market, to have them experience and evaluate different types of employment, and then return them to school, hopefully with a more concrete picture of the value and meaning of work in the Hawaii labor market.

Using data provided by the C.E.T.A. office it is possible to compare the pre- and post-training occupations of Samoan program participants (Table 8). C.E.T.A. provided information on the most recent employment (previous to C.E.T.A. program entry) for 169 individuals, while post-program employment data was available for 119 individuals.

Table 8 Occupations pre- and post-C.E.T.A. training. Samoans in the C.E.T.A. Program, October 1, 1980 to December 30, 1982.

OCCUPATIONS	Most Recent Employment pre-C.E.T.A. Number	Percent	Employment post-C.E.T.A. Number	Percent
Professional/Managerial/Teachers	8	4.7	3	2.5
Sales Worker/Clerical	64	37.9	35	29.4
Craftsman/Artist	16	9.5	17	14.3
Operatives	7	4.1	2	1.7
Transport Operators	3	1.8	--	--
Service Workers	49	29.0	48	40.3
Laborers	14	8.3	8	6.7
Agriculture/Fishing	5	3.0	--	--
Military	3	1.8	6	5.0
TOTAL	169	100	119	100

Source: Office of Human Resources, City & County of Honolulu, 1980-81.

Due to the small sample size any conclusion reached about a decline in the percent in the Professional/Managerial/Teacher occupations would be untenable. In addition, the seven Samoans who indicated that their most recent employment was as a teacher, may have taught in American Samoa and may not be credentialed to teach in Hawaii.

The decline in the percent working in the Sales Worker/Clerical field should be recognized and viewed as problematic in light of U.S. census data (1983) indicating that this is an important sector of the Samoan occupational structure. Increasingly, Samoans may occupy more clerical positions as more individuals who have worked for the American Samoan Government immigrate to Hawaii and enter the local labor force. It is also possible that individuals with clerical experience in Hawaii could become aware of employment opportunities in American Samoa and return there to work, and this may partly explain the decline in the Sales Worker/Clerical percentage in the post-C.E.T.A. employment data. The clerical field is one occupational sector where Samoans can perceive viable employment opportunities in both Hawaii and American Samoa, and this may explain why clerical trainers, working within the C.E.T.A. program, have noted the success of Samoan women in training, in finding clerical employment, and in remaining on the job.

The post-C.E.T.A. employment data shows an increase in the percent working as Craftsmen/Artists. These data, combined with the earlier Job Corps data, indicate that both these training programs are increasing Samoan skill-levels in specific jobs like

carpentry, masonry, roofing, welding, and auto mechanics. The post-C.E.T.A. data also shows an increase in the percent working as Service Workers, and this further substantiates the importance of Service Work occupations in the overall Samoan occupational structure in Hawaii.

In the Kalihi Valley Homes Survey (Franco:1983), thirty-two of fifty respondents were aware of job training programs in Hawaii. When asked which programs they were aware of, and allowing for multiple responses, twenty-three said C.E.T.A., twelve were aware of Job Corps, seven said Community College programs, three said Adult Education programs, and two were aware of the Work Incentive (WIN) program of the Department of Social Services and Housing. Most of the respondents became aware of training programs through information provided by family and friends, and television.

Of the sixteen individuals (respondents or other adults in the respondent's household) who participated in a job training program in Hawaii, twelve completed the training. For nine of these twelve individuals the training was perceived as advantageous in their finding employment.

When asked for comments about job training, eight respondents felt that Samoans should have special job training programs with more emphasis on practical skill development. Three respondents indicated that Samoans need more information about job training opportunities in Hawaii. Two respondents stated that they had tried to get into job training programs but the officials "never call back." Although the sample sizes are very small, it can be

concluded that Samoans see job training as a means of improving employment opportunities, and that communication between program officials and the Samoan community should be improved.

The survey received some interesting answers to the question about whether it was more important for men or women to get job training. Twenty-eight respondents answered the question; ten felt it was more important for men to receive training, nine felt it was more important for women, and nine responded that men and women should have equal opportunity. Both male and female respondents said that it was more important for men to receive job training. Mostly female respondents, and in particular female household heads, stated that it was more important for females to get job training, and both males and females indicated that there should be equal opportunity because "we both are young and ambitious."

Young and ambitious Samoans have been joining the U.S. military for the last forty years. The next section of this report will discuss the relationship between Samoan military experience and employment:

Military Experience and Employment

Since the 1950s the U.S. military has been an "old friend" to the people of Samoa, and the Samoans have served their old friend well. An article in U.S. News and World Report (1980: 83-84) captures the fervor of Samoan patriotism:

> Pago Pago, American Samoa. Soon after Governor Peter Tali Coleman went on the air to pledge American Samoa's support for the U.S. in the Iran crisis, his office was flooded with telephone calls.

> "We're ready to go to war with Iran," declared one of the leading chiefs . . . said another chief: "You tell President Carter if he's short of soldiers, we'll give him a lot."
>
> Samoans claim that there are more of their young men in the U.S. armed forces per capita than from any other American jurisdiction . . . (actually per population).

According to a recent U.S. Congressional Newsletter (July, 1983) fourteen American Samoans died serving their country in the Vietnam War. In Hawaii, there were 511 Samoan veterans (477 males and 34 females) enumerated by the U.S. Census in 1980. From 1978 to January 1983, 453 Samoans enlisted in the active army and 125 enlisted in the army reserves in American Samoa (U.S. Army Statistics. 1983). If we assume that these latter enlistees were in the 15-24 year old cohort,

then approximately 17.7% of this male cohort had enlisted in the U.S. Army or reserves over the five year period, 1978-1983. This high percentage enlistment rate would tend to confirm the Samoan claim about "per capita" participation in the U.S. Armed Forces.

Samoans at Kalihi Valley were asked about military experience and employment. Of the sixty-six individuals reported as having participated in the U.S. military, the respondents indicated that forty-eight increased their employment potential through military enlistment. For ten of the Samoans in the military, the respondents did not know if they had increased their employability by joining the military. Seven of the military Samoans received training in the infantry and this training was not perceived by the respondents as useful in the labor market. One of the military Samoans was disabled and unable to work. Clearly though, these Samoan respondents perceived joining the military as a successful strategy for entering the Hawaii labor market. To know if their perceptions are correct will require additional research.

In summary, the Samoans appear to join the U.S. military because they are patriotic; and because they perceive the military as a source of employment and employment training. One final point should be made. Since World War I there has been a close relationship between military participation, migration, and employment, and the close interaction of these three processes continues today.

California Job Training Programs

In California there have been two successful job training and adult education programs tailored specifically to the needs of American Samoans-- Project Harbor in the San Pedro-Wilmington area of Southern California, and the National Office of Samoan Affairs' (NOSA) Adult Education Program. In 1979-80, NOSA conducted a program under the sponsorship of the California Adult Education Division of the State Department of Education. Although this program was not solely an attempt at employment training, many of the educational themes from this program provide insights into the crucial elements necessary in a successful Samoan job training program.

Firstly, recruitment into this adult education project was carefully planned. NOSA brought together the Samoan Chief's Council, five ministers, and 35-40 household heads, to identify those individuals who could benefit from the program. This recruitment process was successful because throughout the program training individuals received support and encouragement in their households and churches, and from the wider Samoan community.

Secondly, NOSA developed numerous teaching strategies based on the following two assumptions (1980:18):

> 1) Samoans have the "right to retain their ethnic and cultural identity, values, lifestyle, language, and community cohesiveness, while engaged in mainstream education." The central values of Samoan culture were defined as, "conformity, cooperation, acceptance of group decisions, strong identification with family and community, a Christian ideology, and courtesy in interpersonal interaction."

2) That teachers need to be aware of the unique learning styles of their Samoan students/trainees.

The final report emphasized that teaching strategies should be carefully based on appropriate curriculum. Teachers should (1980:19):

1) "Ensure that the materials are informative, practical, and relate closely to the lives and personal interests of the students, especially with respect to pre-employment and employment related skills.

2) Check the style and content to ensure that they are not offensive to the Samoan culture. Make sure the central values are not violated.

3) Ensure that the lessons are designed to improve students' concepts of long-range planning.

4) Check to see that the directions and content are simple and clear so that students can follow them easily.

5) Check that materials raise self-esteem and bilingual materials should be developed whenever possible."

Role playing tecniques, opportunities to experience success in training, and the encouragement of group learning and cooperative activities, were all found to be useful for Samoans in their learning of basic skills. Finally, it was found that bilingual teachers had more success with Samoan trainees, and team-teaching--English speaking instructors working with Samoan speaking aides -- was found to be a successful strategy.

The "Project Harbor" staff utilized some of these strategies in their employment training project in Southern California, 1980-82. Over the nearly three years of this project, approximately 275 Samoans received welding training, and according to the Project Director, 96% of these individuals received their certification, and were placed in jobs in the San Pedro-Wilmington area. Further, these individuals were earning good wages, $9-$25 per hour, and were still on the job after two to three years. Most of the trainees

were in the 18-25 year old age group, the rest being over 25. Thirty of the trainees were women for whom training in this non-traditional field was something "totally new," and toward the end of the project more women were expressing great interest in the program.

Project Harbor also provides important insights into what makes a Samoan job training program work. As the NOSA Adult Education Project had demonstrated, the network of families, churches, and chief's councils can be usefully implemented in recruiting trainees, and in supporting and encouraging their progress toward completing job training. This comprehensive networking was utilized in Project Harbor, and the project team made a conscientious effort to link up with this netwok by providing transportation to the training site.

Within the San Pedro-Wilmington area the Project Harbor staff investigated and made a careful determination of local high demand occupations. Welding, associated with the shipping and transportation industries, was identified as an occupation in which Samoans could be trained and employed.

This job training project took advantage of an available pool of local retired and semi-retired Samoan welders who worked closely with the younger trainees. The NOSA project also used older instructors (average age 56), and in both training programs additional benefits were realized. Relations between elders and youth improved, intergenerational communication and respect was enhanced, and the self-esteem of Samoans in both programs was increased.

One further consideration is that the older trainers in Project Harbor may have had some experience working for the U.S. Navy in Pago Pago, Hawaii, or elsewhere, and thus their military employment experience was continuing to reap adaptive benefits in the San Pedro-Wilmington area.

The Samoan volunteer trainers were brought in to complement the efforts of the professionals at the San Pedro-Wilmington Skill Center. One crucial factor in the success of Project Harbor was the support and sensitivity demonstrated by the Center Administrator as well as the professional trainers. The team-teaching approach, combining both English and Samoan speakers, was implemented with positive results in both Project Harbor, and the NOSA Adult Education Project.

One aspect of welding itself, the reading of operational symbols instead of English, also facilitated training. The project provided supplemental English as a Second Language instruction and this resulted in improvements in comprehension. The NOSA project also emphasized reading skills development and that key words and terms should be repeated frequently, and be carefully, clearly defined in reading instruction.

Finally, the success of Project Harbor must, for the most part, be credited to the trainees themselves. These trainees saw in Project Harbor an opportunity to move away from social welfare dependency. They took this opportunity, and now, for two to three years, many of these trainees have been working as certified welders in the local shipping and transportation industry, making and saving money, buying homes, paying taxes, and experiencing upward occupational mobility.

However, there is much more than economics involved here. These Samoans are experiencing self-sufficiency, and becoming increasingly capable, if they so choose, of supporting the economic, social, and political activities of their 'aiga (extended family). In the Samoan world view, or ethos, this experience of self-sufficiency is enmeshed within a greater concern for the needs of others within the 'aiga. For milennia, this integration of self-sufficiency and group support has been a source of tremendous pride for the Samoan. These islanders, coming from a rural, agriculturally-based economy will continue to take advantage of job training opportunities in order achieve individual and group socioeconomic goals. It is thus essential that job training programs be well designed, with a pre-identification of localized high demand occupations. These programs should be culturally sensitive, emphasizing cooperative efforts between Samoans and non-Samoans, individuals and groups, men and women, elders and youth.

Washington Job Training Programs

In Washington's Samoan community, concentrated primarily in the Seattle area, only the more generalized job training opportunities have been available. The Seattle Organizational and Industrial Center, the Renton Improvement Program, and Griffin Business College, have been providing a wide-range of training opportunities to Samoans and non-Samoans alike. The Job Club Program of the Employment Opportunity Center has also tried to provide employment orientation for Seattle's Samoans.

All four of these programs have had some difficulty reaching,

and working with the Samoan community. Samoans are reportedly in such desperate financial need that they do not feel they have the time necessary for job training. Also problematic for Samoans is the lack of transportation to the training sites. Many Samoans explain that they can not respond to job training opportunities because they need to remain in the home to care for elderly parents.

Despite these reported problems, the Seattle Employment Opportunity Center has trained and placed a large number of Samoans, and knowledgeable leaders in the Seattle community suggest that this Center should be more fully funded to provide culturally-sensitive and specialized training for local Samoans. It was emphasized that these training programs should be modelled after the Center's Refugee Employment Program, and that there was an urgent need for bilingual aides in all the training and social services programs.

CONCLUSION

The movement of American Samoans into Hawaii and the U.S. mainland is characterized by one-way, permanent migration and temporary, circular mobility. These two mobility patterns necessitate the conceptualization of Samoan adaptation within a number of environments from New Zealand through Samoa to the United States. A major part of the Samoan adaptive strategy involves the movement of personnel and resources over this geographic expanse. These movements result in an expansion of traditional 'aiga, matai, and malaga patterns of social organization, with commitments to Samoa, and the fa'a Samoa remaining strong.

In American urban environments, the primary conflict faced by Samoan families is the financing of these movement and exchange patterns, in light of low income levels. Constraints on time are also severe, as family and church responsibilities sometimes interfere with job and school requirements. Barriers to economic self-sufficiency -- educational and language difficulties, the lack of useful pre-migration employment experience, and discrimination -- have exacerbated adaptive problems. The most direct approach to accelerating the process of positive adaptation appears to be the provision of job training programs which can improve communication skills, job skills and job performance, and income levels. In the long run, however, the development of statewide community organizations that can speak with one voice (fofoga) will facilitate the identification of adaptive problems in the areas of health, housing, employment, and education. Further, it is these statewide organizations, with their networks of matai, ministers, and intelligent young Samoans, that can provide programmatic solutions to these adaptive problems.

For milennia, the council (fono) of chiefs directed Samoan adaptation to an island environment. The complexity of life in Hawaii, and the U.S. mainland,requires a council of chiefs, ministers, and young, well-educated Samoans to direct their adaptation to American urban environments. Further, as Samoan immigration rates will likely remain high, and as employment problems will likely remain severe, there is a clear need for a sustained federal response to Samoan adaptation. Long-tern federal programming for America's Samoan community can best be initiated and implemented through new legislation recognizing that, since their annexation in 1899, Samoans have been Native Americans, and as such should be entitled to similar annual appropriations, particularly in the area of job training and economic development.

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